

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 SAM-01

SAJ-01 AID-05 COME-00 EB-07 FRB-03 TRSE-00 XMB-02

OPIC-03 CIEP-01 LAB-04 SIL-01 OMB-01 CEA-01 AGR-05

FEAE-00 ACDA-05 CU-02 STR-04 /108 W

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE BUCHAREST 2819

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR BU RO

SUBJ: ZHIVKOV VISIT TO ROMANIA

REF: (A) BUCHAREST 2736, (B) BUCHAREST 2803

1. SUMMARY. SURFACE WARMTH DURING JUNE 16-20 VISIT TO ROMANIA BY BULGARIAN PARTY LEADER ZHIVKOV WAS HIGHLIGHTED BY NEW JOINT DECLARATION (IN SUBSTANCE A COMMUNIQUE BUT FIRST WITH SUCH TITLE, TO OUR KNOWLEDGE, GOR HAS SIGNED WITH CEMA PARTNER). PERSISTING POLICY DIFFERENCES EMERGED IN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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TOASTS, HOWEVER, OVER CEMA, WARSAW PACT, EUROPEAN COMMUNIST

PARTY CONFERENCE, AND ROLE OF USSR. BOTH LEADERS SEEM RESOLVED TO COOPERATE WHEREVER THEY CAN, PARTICULARLY IN ECONOMIC FIELD, WITH CEAUSESCU PARTICULARLY DETERMINED TO SHOW BILATERALISM CAN WORK WITHOUT ANY NEW "INTEGRATIVE" STEPS IN CEMA. END SUMMARY.

2. EXUBERANT ROMANIAN RECEPTION OF ZHIVKOV AND ENTOURAGE WAS MUCH WARMER THAN IN PREVIOUS YEARS, AND INCLUDED NUMEROUS DEMONSTRATIVE TRIPS AND PLANT VISITS OUTSIDE OF BUCHAREST (EVERYWHERE ACCOMPANIED BY CHEERING, WELL-ORGANIZED CROWDS). HOWEVER, LONG-FAMILIAR POLICY DIFFERENCES SURFACED, PARTICULARLY IN TOASTS OF TWO LEADERS.

3. WHILE ZHIVKOV PLUGGED SEVERAL TIMES THE BENEFITS OF "SOCIALIST ECONOMIC INTEGRATION" AND AT ONE POINT PLEDGED TO CONTRIBUTE ACTIVELY TO FURTHER INTEGRATION, CEAUSESCU DESCRIBED CEMA'S ROLE PRIMARILY AS SPEEDING PROGRESS OF "EACH NATIONAL ECONOMY" AND EQUALIZING DEVELOPMENT AMONG MEMBERS. ON ECPC, CEAUSESCU CALLED FOR PARTICIPATION OF ALL INTERESTED PARTIES UNDER DEMOCRATIC CONDITIONS OF FULL EQUALITY; ZHIVKOV PRAISED ECPC AND URGED WORLD COMMUNIST CONFERENCE THEREAFTER AS LOGICAL FOLLOW-UP IN ORDER TO STRENGTHEN "UNITY OF THOUGHT AND ACTION" OF COMMUNIST MOVEMENT. ZHIVKOV NOTED THAT BULGARIAN COMMUNISTS CONSIDERED IT THEIR PRIMORDIAL DUTY TO SHARPEN VIGILANCE AGAINST ALL ATTEMPTS TO, INTER ALIA, "UNDERMINE UNITY OF SOCIALIST COMMUNITY". CEAUSESCU MENTIONED NEITHER SOVIET UNION NOR WARSAW PACT, WHILE ZHIVKOV QUITE LAVISHLY PRAISED BOTH; LATTER'S TOASTS ALSO SPRINKLED WITH REFERENCES TO "COHESION AND UNITY OF ACTION" WITH BROTHERLY SOCIALIST STATES.

4. IN ECONOMIC SPHERE, ACCORDING TO JOINT DECLARATION, TRADE BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES IS TO DOUBLE UNDER NEXT FIVE-YEAR PLAN. PROTOCOL ON COORDINATION OF BULGARIAN AND ROMANIAN DEVELOPMENT PLANS, TOGETHER WITH EXPECTED ACCORDS ON TURNU MAGURELE-NICOPOL HYDROELECTRIC COMPLEX AND JOINT MACHINE-CONSTRUCTION PROJECT AT GIURGIU-RUSE ALSO SIGNED. OTHER DOCUMENTS INCLUDED LONG-TERM ECONOMIC-SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL ACCORD; AGREEMENT FOR TRANSPORT OF ELEC-LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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TRICITY FROM SOVIET UNION TO BULGARIA (VIA ROMANIA); AND COOPERATIVE PROGRAM IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY. MULTIPLE FACTORY VISITS MADE BY ZHIVKOV AND CEAUSESCU MAY HAVE BEEN LATTER'S WAY OF DEMONSTRATING ROMANIA'S ABILITY TO TAKE ON SUCCESSFULLY MORE CEMA INVESTMENT AND HIGH-TECHNOLOGY PROJECTS, AS WELL AS EMPHASIZING ROMANIA'S DEVELOPMENTAL EFFORT TO SKEPTICAL NEIGHBOR.

5. COMMENT. ZHIVKOV'S POINTED PRAISE OF "SOCIALIST ECONOMIC INTEGRATION" WAS EXPECTED BUT UNWELCOME TO ROMANIANS, WHO HAVE RECENTLY BEEN ASSAILING IN PRESS SOME OF MORE SWEEPING VARIATIONS ON THAT THEME (REFTELS). YUGOSLAVS HERE HAVE SPECULATED BUT HAVE NO HARD EVIDENCE ZHIVKOV MAY HAVE BORNE SOVIET PROPOSALS IN THIS REGARD TO BUCHAREST AND COMMENTED ON HIS PAST ROLE AS MOSCOW'S EMISSARY. CEAUSESCU MAY HAVE HOPED THAT NEW IMPETUS TO BILATERAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS AND SUBMERGENCE OF DIFFERENCES IN NAME OF BALKAN COOPERATION OR SOCIALIST UNITY COULD DISARM SOVIET AND BULGARIAN ARGUMENTS THAT MORE "INTEGRATION" IS KEY TO PROGRESS WITHIN CEMA. ROMANIANS ALSO MAY HAVE COUNTED ON BULGARIA, A LESSER DEVELOPED CEMA COUNTRY, TO SYMPATHIZE TO SOME EXTENT WITH ROMANIA'S DEMANDS THAT "EQUALIZATION" IN CEMA BE GIVEN HIGHER PRIORITY THAN "INTEGRATION". THERE WAS LITTLE SIGN THEY HAD ANY SUCCESS IN THIS AND, IN FACT, MFT OFFICIAL COMMENTED THAT ZHIVKOV WHILE IN BUCHAREST KEPT TALKING ABOUT THE "CEMA COMPLEX PROGRAM FOR INTEGRATION" (LATTER WORD EMPHASIZED). NEVERTHELESS, THE BETTER CEAUSESCU CAN MAKE BILATERALISM LOOK, THE BETTER HE CAN FEND OFF SUPRANATIONALIST CEMA PRESSURES. AND THE FACT STILL REMAINS THAT ROMANIAN-BULGARIAN RELATIONS HAVE, FOR ALL THEIR DISPARATE ASPECTS, A WARMER TONE AND MORE SOLID ECONOMIC CONTENT THAN IS THE CASE WITH ROMANIA'S RELATIONS WITH OTHER WARSAW PACT ALLIES OF ITS SIZE.

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